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URBANIZATION AND CRIME AND DELINQUENCY IN ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

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SUMMARY

The precise relationship of the rapid growth of urban society in recent years to the increase in adult crime and juvenile delinquency is yet to be adequately determined. Conclusive findings must await further study and improved statistical techniques. Despite present shortcomings of research, however, it is apparent from authoritative reports and from the testimony of experienced observers that the relationship is a close one, that many types of crime are distinctly urban, that juvenile delinquency, especially, is an increasing problem in countries undergoing rapid social change and economic development and that juvenile delinquency is to be identified as a peculiarly urban phenomenon in these countries.

The rural migrant on entering urban life leaves behind him family influences and controls for which he can find no counterpart in urban life. The newly arrived immigrant is faced with new and bewildering sets of values as well as goals which are often unattainable to him and which frequently are in conflict with those of his background. He is subject to most of disadvantages of urban living and shares very little of the advantages. The very patterns which characterize the life of the newly arrived migrant in the urban area are those which are generally associated with the causes of social breakdown, including criminal behaviour.

Moreover, the demographic imbalance which is characteristic of waves of migration from rural areas to the cities has also been identified as conducive to crime and prostitution. Since early waves of migration are made up predominantly of unaccompanied men, the migrant is deprived not only of a wife but also of the stability and guidance of his elders. The subsequent migration of women has its special problems since they also do not have the extended family to assist them in adapting to new urban roles. The exposure of rural women to the hazards of urban life has been identified as producing a breakdown in moral standards.

/Sizeable rural

Sizeable rural migrations produce a glut on the urban labour market resulting in unemployment and lowered standard of living. The necessity for women to accept whatever employment is available either as the sole support for herself and her children or in order to supplement her husband's income exposes her to exploitation and the temptation of prostitution which is relatively highly lucrative. The children must also work and either compete in the labour market against adults or take border-line jobs of considerable moral hazard.

From data available on the Asian region as well as other parts of the world in which rapid social change and economic development are taking place, it is apparent that the failure of rural migrants to make a satisfactory economic adjustment in urban centres leads to the weakening of family ties and the break-up of the family as well as to increases in adult crime and juvenile delinquency.

Moreover, in entering the urban society the immigrant from rural society is met not only with vastly new social values and customs which are a source of confusion and frustration to him but he is also directly exposed to criminal patterns with which he is not familiar and with which he is very often quite unprepared to cope. This results in exploitations especially of women and children leading to juvenile delinquency and prostitution.

The growth of urban society in relation to crime focusses attention not only on the repercussions of this growth but also on the formulation of policies and programmes for the prevention of adult crime and juvenile delinquency.

Although concentration of population is generally identified with increasing crime, there is little evidence that only the concentration itself produces crime but rather that other social factors associated with great increases of population produce the social disturbances which lead to crime. Apparently, moreover, industrialization itself is not fairly to be regarded as producing criminality. It is the individual and group maladjustment associated with new ways of life accompanying concentration of population and industrialization which produces the setting for criminal behaviour. This then points the way toward preventive programmes and, in fact, it has been demonstrated that where both concentration of population and industrialization have been carefully planned with proper regard for the social factors involved no increase in criminality

/took place.

took place. Moreover, countries in the early stages of economic development may utilize these periods effectively to bring about certain social changes which will in fact contribute to the welfare and stability of the population. In this connection, these countries have an advantage over the already industrialized countries from whose errors the economically less-developed countries may profit.

Thus, it is concluded that haphazard migration from rural areas to urban centres is to be avoided and that rural development is called for to satisfy the needs of those individuals migrating to urban centres in search of social and economic advantages not available in the villages. Finally, for the inevitable, and not necessarily undesirable, migration to the urban centre the rural migrant must receive the social and economic preparation for urban living, and the urban centre must be prepared to receive him.

The rapid growth of urban society in recent years, particularly in the less-developed countries, has been commonly regarded as having a close association with the appearance of, or increase in, certain types of adult crime and juvenile delinquency. Unfortunately, the extent to which the two phenomena are causally related is not yet subject to adequate statistical analysis both because of the shortcomings of criminal statistics and because of the limitations of establishing an urban-rural dichotomy on the basis of population data alone.[1/] Although in a number of countries the incidence of

/urban crime

1/ The term urban has been and still is used in criminal statistics to refer to any place (in some countries to any incorporated place) having a population over a certain limit, generally that of 2,000 inhabitants. Moreover, these places are referred to as "cities" and as such computed in the measurement of urban and rural crime. By exclusion, groups of population below the marked limit are considered as rural. Although for census purposes that criterion may be considered as practical, its usefulness for criminological purposes is in doubt. Even if the concentration of population in a certain area has a bearing on the behaviour of the individuals, it is not the number of people but rather the type of life they lead which determines the incidence of crime and delinquency of the whole group. A purely numerical division of groups does not necessarily distinguish different ways of life. Thus in a great number of cases, especially in less-developed countries with a high density of population, the fact that a community has a population somewhat over 2,000 does not automatically mean that life in that community is of an urban character.

urban crime and delinquency seems to be higher than that of rural crime and delinquency, it would be rather premature to reach any general conclusion in view of the incompleteness and lack of comparability of available data and of the difficulty of distinguishing, as a point of departure, precisely between the characteristics of urban and rural life.

Data available from government reports as well as other authoritative sources lend some support, however, to the general contention that there is an association between growth of cities and increase in crime and delinquency.

For example, according to information received in a special report to the United Nations, the rate of urban crime in Japan is higher than that of rural areas.2/ The general increase of crime in the whole country is particularly noticeable in the largest cities. Thus, while for the first half of 1954 the index of crime in small towns and villages was 1.2 per 10,000 inhabitants, that of the largest cities was 2.67.

Parallel to this increase of urban crime seems to be that of juvenile delinquency, prostitution and narcotic offences. With respect to juvenile delinquency, although the statistics are not complete, its increasing trend in the big cities is affirmed in the report. More definite seem to be the conclusions concerning prostitution. In this respect Tokyo comes first on the lists of cities with an index of 67.7 of the total. Street prostitutes and brothels have increased considerably in certain cities. Narcotic offences have also increased all over the country. Although no breakdown is made in the report under consideration concerning their incidence in urban and rural areas, it is asserted that narcotic offences are typically urban. This conclusion is similar to that reached in other countries.

/Among the

2/ See "Urbanization and Crime in Post-war Japan", a report prepared at the Secretariat's request by M. Yasuhira, Public Procurator, Tokyo, and the United Nations correspondent in Social Defence, with the co-operation of other specialists. The report was supplemented by a second one covering other different aspects of the subject. The sharpest decrease took place in 1952. However the figure for this year was still 15% higher than that of 1946. After 1952 the decrease stopped and since then a constant increase of crime has been taking place.

Among the new forms of social pathology arising from the development of urban society, none is causing more anxiety, nor is regarded as more serious, than the increase in juvenile delinquency. For example, a special report prepared by the Intelligence Bureau, Government of India, at the request of the United Nations[3] indicates that "industrialization has a more pronounced effect on juvenile rather than adult crime". Furthermore, "it was found that juvenile crime in an acute form is confined to the cities, particularly the cities of Eastern India, and to some of the larger towns which have suffered from economic distress. It is not a problem of the rural areas".[4]

This situation is, of course, not peculiar to any one region of the world; rather, it is to be found, perhaps invariably, wherever rapid urbanization and industrialization is taking place. In the Asian region, criminality is often reported to be exceptionally low in rural areas.[4]

It has been found, however, that the impact of urbanism does not necessarily affect only the individuals migrating to the urban centres. There is a limited but highly influential traffic back to the village bringing with it disturbing concepts of values and goals. The villages themselves take on some of the urban characteristics such as intensified individuality accompanied by reduced self-reliance and "the community becomes more unstable socially and more vulnerable to individual problems of deprivation, delinquency and destitution".[5]

/Social Implications

3/ Intelligence Bureau, Government of India: Criminality Resulting from Social Changes and Economic Development, mimeographed, 14 pp. (1956) prepared at the request of the United Nations Secretariat. The report was submitted by Mr. B.N. Mullik, Director of the Indian Intelligence Bureau and Head of the correspondents of India in social defence matters to the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs. He was assisted by other Indian correspondents in collecting information for the report. It was also indicated that consultations took place with competent Indian research Institutes on the matter.

4/ Ibid., p.12.

4/ A.F.A. Hussein, "Human and Social Impact of Technological Change in East Pakistan" in The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, UNESCO, Calcutta, 1956, p.119.

5/ Cyprus: Annual report on social welfare for the year 1954. (Government Printing Office, Nicosia, 1955)

Social Implications of the Growth of Urban Society

Generally, the migration of the village dweller to the urban centre not only exposes him to a myriad of new and often conflicting social values, but it also cuts him off from the patterns and values of behaviour which formerly directed his life in a stable manner. "Behaviour in the folk society is traditional, spontaneous, and uncritical ... what one man does is very much the same as what another man does, and ... the patterns of conduct are clear and remain constant throughout the generations".6/

Moreover, the villager has about him a system of authority which is fully understood and which requires and receives conformity; this intimate and consistent authority is lacking for the individual in the typical urban centre. "All in all, the rural society has the means for enforcing its patterns upon youthful members through an intensive emphasis upon the prevalent values and maintaining them through a continued supervision. The urban situation tends to be just the opposite inasmuch as anonymity, mobility, a lack of primariness, and the small conjugal family are characteristic patterns".7/

The decline of the family influence and control over the individual in the transition from rural to urban life is one of the principal characteristics of this kind of migration. The extended family with its essential self-sufficiency and clearly defined roles and relationships can not long survive in the urban setting where functions are undertaken on the basis of individual responsibilities and roles are defined by the community rather than by any kinship arrangement. "As the processes of urbanization and industrialization proceed, young people lose the sense of safety and significance that arose in older times from belonging to a large and close-knit family group which remained in one vicinity through several generations".8/

/Furthermore,

6/ Robert Redfield: "The Folk Society", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol.LII, No.4, January 1947, pp.300-302.

7/ E.L. Lively; "Rural-Urban Contrasts in Socialization" in Dynamic Urban Sociology, Ed. by W.E. Cole (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1954), p.103.

8/ National statement of Thailand, United Nations Seminar on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of the Offenders in Asia and the Far East, Rangoon, Burma, 1954.

Furthermore, the very patterns which characterize the life of the newly arrived rural migrant in the urban area are those which are generally associated with the causes of social breakdown, including criminal behaviour.9/

The inability to maintain the family roles characteristic of village life coupled with a preoccupation to satisfy immediate basic needs jeopardize the ability of the family to orient the children and youth toward their future social roles and to give them the value system essential to attaining a proper maturity. Delinquency and crime may follow. In a recent study of migrants to the national capital of India, the higher rate of criminality among them was interpreted thus: "The main reason lies in the tragic dichotomy between the old customs and moral values of the migrants and economic and social distress resulting from forced rootlessness. Every human being admires honesty, courage, decency and more so the simple villager. But the regard for these customary norms of behaviour is set aside by a powerful desire to gain rewards without effort; particularly when very little can be earned by honest efforts and there is almost no social control to curb the criminal instinct. Most of the small crimes committed by the migrants (ticketless travel, trespass and illegal occupation of lands for housing, small thefts, rowdyism etc.) were directly connected with the hazards of the migratory life. Even the others, which look more serious have their roots in the same situation".10/

In over-crowded urban centres, more often than not the newly arrived migrant and his family from the rural area fare the worst with respect to the limited housing available. Whatever resources and avenues for obtaining housing may exist are not known to them. They must accept the least desirable, often at exorbitant prices, or even do without housing at all in some instances. This has been true in western countries when waves of migration took place and

/it is true

9/ E.G. Ericksen in Urban Behaviour (McMillan, New York, 1954), pp.408-409.

10/ M.B. Deshmukh, "A Study of Floating Migration" in the Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, UNESCO, Calcutta, 1956, p.218.

it is true today in other parts of the world as well, where rapid urbanization is taking place. Among the ill-effects of this situation is that the migrant must settle in slum areas where crime rates and other indices of social disorganization are high.

A study of criminality in relation to the influx of population in Kanpur, U.P., one of the largest industrialized cities of India, revealed a sharp upswing in the crime rate following the years of increasing population growth and led to the conclusion that "slums, over-crowding and bad living conditions of workers were the causes of the increase of crimes in subsequent years".[11/] Subsidized industrial housing has been given credit for the reductions in crime and juvenile delinquency in recent years.

Inadequate housing is, of course, but one of the disadvantages suffered by the recently arrived rural families. Often they are not in a position to obtain for themselves many of the other advantages already possessed by the urban family. For example, "The children of the permanently settled urban families belonging to the lowest income groups are much better looked after as compared with the migrant children. A high percentage of them can attend the primary school, while in the case of the younger ones there are at least well known neighbours to look after them in case every adult member of the family goes to work".[12/]

The Relationship between Crime and Delinquency and the Demographic Characteristics of the Growth of Urban Society

Certain demographic characteristics associated with the urbanization process are likely to contribute to social problems such as prostitution and delinquency. It has been observed that the migration of the rural population into urban centres usually occurs in stages. The early stages are marked by a predominance of the younger male rural population migrating into the cities. The later stages of the process include a considerable proportion of attached

/and unattached

11/ Criminality Resulting from Social Changes and Economic Development. op.cit., p.10.

12/ M.B. Deshmukh, "A Study of Floating Migration" in The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, UNESCO, Calcutta, 1956, p.215.

and unattached young females who may, in fact, predominate in this phase of the migratory movements from rural to urban areas. A salient feature of this process is the fact that the older people do not usually migrate from rural to urban centres. The lack of older people in the migratory movement from rural to urban areas "is a factor of instability in all domains as it is this age group which is the repository of tradition and experience. If the presence of old people is sometimes considered as an obstacle to progress, it acts both ways: it is also an obstacle to rapid deterioration. If it slows up the adaptation process, it also enables the youth to remember and perhaps retain what is good in the former ways of life of their ancestors. Moreover, it (the absence of old people) also means indiscipline: the village youth who suddenly becomes his own master in town, without any elder to guide and protect him, is likely to misuse his newly-born freedom".[13/]

A common phenomenon of the growing cities in many countries which are undergoing urbanization at the present time is the demographic imbalance whereby there is a preponderance of males, particularly in the younger age-groups, which leads to an absence of normal family life. This often results in deprivations of a social and psychological character which interfere with the stability and social adjustment of the individual. It also creates a situation where there is a great demand for female companionship, thus contributing greatly to such problems as prostitution and concubinage. Such conditions were already noticeable in India more than twenty years ago when increasing industrial conditions brought about a disparity in the proportion of the sexes in urban centres. Thus, "the large cities have a population of people who leave their women-folk behind in their villages .... This state of affairs in the cities is naturally associated with various kinds of sex irregularity and immoral traffic in women".[14/]

Current report from the same country supports this earlier finding. "The necessity for the rural peoples to live in the city away from their family for long or short periods is often the cause of their social disorganization and, in many cases, also of their personal demoralization. And, in this, the

/privations as

13/ Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain: Food and Leisure Among the African Youth of Leopoldville (Belgian Congo), University of Capetown, Communications from the School of African Studies, (New Series No.25, December 1950).

14/ B.S. Haikerwal: Economic and Social Aspects of Crime in India, (London, 1934), pp.40-41.

privations as well as the facilities peculiar to city life play their part .... It is in the city rather than in the village that pathological manifestations of sex impulse are most frequent. These abnormal sex practices have grown sufficiently common to assume a definite pattern of behaviour in the city".15/

A somewhat similar situation has been found to exist in Burma. An official report of that government indicates that one of the reasons for an increase in the number of prostitutes in Rangoon has been due to a large foreign population residing in the city. Only a few of the foreigners could bring their families with them and the unattached males create a demand for prostitutes.16/

The migration of women from rural areas to urban centres also creates certain social problems. It is true that women migrating into the cities with their husbands and children should have a stabilizing influence on the social and moral life of the males concerned. But it does not always have this result. Certain urban cultural patterns may have a negative impact on women whose upbringing has been conditioned by traditional patterns of family life and structure. She engages in work outside the home often neglecting her children who, under rural conditions, would have either assisted their parents in the fields or if they are very young would have been subjected to the care of older relatives such as grandparents, etc. Such neglect of children has often been regarded as one of the factors which contribute towards juvenile delinquency in urban areas.

Furthermore, the pressures of urban living also affect the moral life of women, whether married or unmarried. A study on sex delinquent women in India, for example, indicates that "women now work in industrial establishments to supplement their family income. They live in overcrowded and unattractive homes with little or no privacy. Consequently, they come in contact with innumerable men similarly employed, who stay alone, leaving their families in their villages. They very often succumb to the entreaties and guiles of such men in their neighbourhood".17/

It may be concluded from the above evidence that the excess of males over females which is usually associated with the early stages of urbanization results in the growth of prostitution. Secondly, the migration of women into urban centres from rural areas, often leads to the breakdown of morality among women and children.

15/ P.N. Prabhu, "A Study on the Social Effects of Urbanization" in The Social Implication of Industrialization and Urbanization, UNESCO, 1956, p.102.

16/ Government of the Union of Burma, Ministry of Social Welfare: Report of the Anti-Prostitution Inquiry Commission (1955), mimeographed, in Burmese.

17/ Gouri R. Banerjee: Sex Delinquent Women and their Rehabilitation. Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bureau of Research and Publications (Bombay, 1955), Preface.

The increase in the population of urban centres is often caused by mass movements of people due to certain cataclysmic events. Such mass movements, for example, occurred due to the partition of the Indian Sub-continent into the States of India and Pakistan, insurgent activities by the political opponents of the ruling Government in Burma, migration of refugees into Hong Kong, etc. In India and Burma, the migration of refugees into the cities has been attributed as a reason for an increase in prostitution since many of the women refugees could not find work paying subsistence wages.[18] A similar explanation has been suggested in the case of Indonesia.[19]

Impact of Urban Economic Patterns on the Individual Behaviour of the Migrant Population

The rural migrant in coming to an urban area usually faces a new pattern of life. It is commonly attributed that the promise of a higher standard of living, if not relative wealth, attracts the rural migrant to the city. Generally, however, the economic adjustment of the rural migrant in the city is not an easy one. In fact, by coming to the city in large numbers, the rural migrants may themselves be responsible for cluttering up the urban labour market with an excess of supply over the demand for workers. The following account concerning Bangalore, Mysore, India illustrates such a situation.

In Bangalore, "there has been considerable industrial expansion in the years 1945-55. Prominent among the industries are an aircraft factory, a telephone factory, electronics, machine-tools and electrical

/equipment.

18/ Banerjee : op.cit., and Report of the Anti-Prostitution Inquiry Commission, (Burma), op.cit.

19/ Government of Indonesia, Ministry of Social Affairs, Social Activities in Indonesia, February, 1952, p.22.

equipment. Employment, however, has not been able to keep pace with the increase in the population, with the result that the economic condition of the people has not improved. The incidence of crime in the studied area is slightly higher than in similar areas in the State. The increase is particularly marked in offences like pocket-picking, cycle-thefts, cheating and bank and post office offences. There has also been a considerable increase in juvenile delinquency owing to bad associations."20/

Furthermore, in terms of the existing economic conditions in urban centres, the rural migrants belong to the category of unskilled or semi-skilled workers and as such obtain employment with low wages, inadequate for a reasonable urban standard of living, particularly for those with families. In these circumstances, the inability of the male head of the family to earn adequately had been frequently associated with the weakening of family ties. As one authority has observed:

"One of the greatest harships which the urban family faces in its attempts to build up an integrated family life and to retain its hold on the children is the inability of the majority of the men to earn sufficiently to support their families."21/

Moreover, within the urban economic framework the female rural migrants are unskilled or semi-skilled labourers as much as their male counterparts. An official report of Burma indicates that women coming from rural areas to the big towns in search of security or economic well-being usually lack the necessary background to get well-paid urban jobs and are obliged to earn their living by becoming either coolies or bazaar sellers, jobs with low remuneration.

/ It has been

20/ Criminality Resulting from Social Changes and Economic Development, op. cit. p.8.

21/ Ellen Hellmann: Problems of Urban Bantu Youth, (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1940), p. 18.

It has been attributed that women in such circumstances fall an easy prey to exploiters and become prostitutes.[22] In a study of sex-delinquent women in India, it has been pointed out that working conditions of women in industrial centres are partly responsible for their delinquency as they are often exploited by jobbers and depend on male supervisors for the continuity of their services.[23]

Domestic service is one of the main kinds of employment which migrant rural women and girls in urban areas. These maid servants are exploited in some of the countries. Concerning India, it is said:

> " Another class of girls exposed to moral danger is that of domestic servants... These women come to cities for service, leaving poverty-stricken families in their native village or town. They have no opportunity for recreational activities and often they succumb to the temptations of male members of the household or male servants just as a pastime." [24]

It has also been claimed that these women and girls coming from the rural areas to work as maid servants in cities are often forced into prostitution when they could not adjust themselves to the families of their employers.[25]

Juveniles belonging to the migrant families also have to face difficulties concerned with economic adjustment in urban areas. With the womenfolk joining their male relatives in urban areas and the consequent growth of family life among rural migrants, it becomes increasingly necessary to provide work opportunities for a growing adolescent population. When special provisions for juvenile employment are not adequately made, as often happens, juveniles are obliged to compete with adults in the labour market, especially for unskilled or semi-skilled work, fields where an abundance of adult workers has already caused difficulties as mentioned above.

/ In a study

22/ Government of the Union of Burma, Ministry of Social Welfare: Report of the Anti-Prostitution Inquiry Commission (1955), op. cit.

23/ G.R. Banerjee: Sex Delinquent Women and their Rehabilitation, op. cit., p. 24.

24/ G.R. Banerjee: op. cit., p. 24.

25/ Government of the Union of Burma, Ministry of Social Welfare: Report of the Anti-Prostitution Inquiry Commission, op. cit.

In a study dealing with juvenile delinquency and destitution in Poona, a city of Bombay State, India, it was found that among juveniles who were dealt with by the children's court for the years 1935-1940, "19 per cent of the children were in school; 24 per cent employed and 56 per cent neither in school nor employed."[26] While the sample used for this study consisted of both migrant juveniles and long-term residents of Poona, elsewhere it has been found that the former face not only problems of employment but also of education in relation to employment in urban areas. It is part of the normal life in rural society for juveniles, particularly those in the older age-groups, to assist their parents or relatives with agricultural pursuits or work at home. The cultural conditioning or training which they receive in rural society may not always fit into the definition of formal education, but nevertheless there is a continuity in the work they perform as juveniles with the work they will assume when they reach adulthood. With the spread of education to rural areas, however, juveniles who receive the more formal type of education often migrate into cities in search of work.

In certain cultures, juveniles have played an important role in the economic life of their families as their work makes an essential contribution towards a minimum level of living. With the universal recognition of the need for the education of children and the greater availability of schools in urban areas in the less-developed countries, many rural migrant families face the dilemma of sending children to school or employing them for the benefit of the family. This situation is aggravated by the fact that women often need to work outside the family as mentioned earlier and older children are put to work at home.[27]

/ Under such

26/ G.N. Ruttonsha: Juvenile Delinquency and Destitution in Poona (Deccan College, Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1947), p. 64.

27/ G.N. Ruttonsha: op. cit., pp. 65-66.

Under such social patterns parents and other members of the family may exploit children. A case in point is begging in India. Children have been deliberately introduced into begging by their families inasmuch as child begging may be very lucrative. Begging is of course much akin to delinquent behaviour, and in some cases is handled formally as such by juvenile courts, especially since it often leads to more complex forms of anti-social behaviour.[28]

The Indian report on urbanization and crime already referred to, indicates that the improvement of economic and social conditions in urban areas contributed towards a decrease in criminality in urban areas. A case in point is that of Ahmedabad City, which is one of the most important industrial cities of India and where population increase during the last ten years had been very rapid. Because of its importance as an industrial city, a very careful assessment was made of the problem of criminality arising out of economic development. In addition to an increase in workers' wages, programmes of industrial housing, education facilities and other amenities were implemented. The following trends of criminality reflect the effects of the above programmes. Crime increased from 2,124 offences in 1945 to 4,609 offences in 1948, but as a result of the impact of the above programmes it progressively declined to 1,925 in 1954.[29] On the other hand, where economic and social improvement programmes were not instituted, criminality had shown an increase. In the harbour area of Madras, population had increased by about 20 per cent as a result of an influx of people from drought-affected rural areas. The economic and social conditions, however, remained the same, with the result that slums developed and "juvenile delinquency has increased, prostitution, gambling and liquor addiction have been a problem."[30]

/ It appears

28/ Conforms to information available in Our Beggar Problem, J.M. Kumarappa, editor, (Bombay 1945).

29/ Intelligence Bureau, Government of India: Criminality Resulting From Social Changes and Economic Development, op.cit., p. 9.

30/ Ibid., p. 8.

It appears from the above information that failure of rural migrants to make a satisfactory economic adjustment in urban centres leads to an increase in crime and delinquency of both adult and juveniles. It should, however, be noted that when specific measures are instituted to make economic adjustment easier, the results have been rather encouraging as shown by the India example.

Impact of Urban Criminal Patterns on Rural Migrants

In entering urban society, the immigrant from the rural society is met not only with vastly new social values and customs which are a source of confusion and frustration to him but he is also directly exposed to criminal patterns with which he has had no familiarity and with which he is, very often, quite unprepared to cope.

The social problems of urbanization are self-perpetuating. The social condition which breed new types of criminal activity in the first place, provide the setting for the development of an urban class of people who live by crime and who recruit the unwary into their ranks.

Children brought to the city ostensibly to work and receive the benefits of a high standard of living are in fact often imported for purposes of exploitation. This includes begging, stealing, especially pick-pocketing and, above all, prostitution. In such cases, it is not a question of drifting into criminality as a solution to bewildering problems of social adjustment; but it is the direct action of recruitment and enforced criminality.

As previously pointed out, for a number of social and demographic reasons, prostitution is essentially an urban phenomenon. The girl or young woman migrating to the urban centre is under constant exposure to being forced into prostitution. As data from the Philippines and Burma, for example, show, women are often recruited from the rural areas for prostitution under the false guise of domestic work or the promise of marriage. Once

/ involved,

involved, it is virtually impossible for them to escape. Moreover, in some instances, rescue homes and other alleged social services for the rehabilitation of prostitutes are themselves the instruments for organized traffic in women. Marriages are arranged by rescue homes and by affiliated Marriage Bureaux but this is only a subterfuge for continuing traffic, arrangements having been made for the girl to return to the home so that subsequent "marriages" can be contracted.[31]

In certain urban centres of South East Asia where the conglomeration of races and religions prevent a normal rate of marriage, elaborate organizations had purchased girls from poverty-stricken families in rural Southern China for prostitution in the urban centres. In some instances even child slavery has been involved. The situation was so critical, in fact, that special measures had to be taken by governments.[32]

Highly organized traffic in narcotics as well as organized gambling are essentially urban phenomenon to which the rural migrant is exposed upon entry into urban life.[33] While neither addiction nor gambling are unknown in rural areas, their lure and their high degree of organization are especially marked in the cities. In Thailand, for example, professional gamblers are exclusively an urban phenomenon.[34]

In urban centres where the sale of intoxicants is prohibited, organized syndicates regularly employ unwitting persons recently arrived from the rural areas in those phases of the traffic most subject to apprehension and arrest. It is not uncommon to find, among those arrested for violation of prohibition laws, that the majority are recently arrived persons from rural areas, who know little or nothing about the syndicate for which they work and, in fact, seldom realized the magnitude of the risk to which they were exposed.[35]

Prevention of Crime and Delinquency and the Development of Urban Society

The growth of urban society raises two questions: a) the repercussion of this growth on the increase of crime and delinquency, and b) the formulation of policies and programmes for the prevention of these social deviations.

/A) The repercussion

31/ Cf. G.R. Bannerjee: Sex Delinquent Women and Their Rehabilitation, op.cit. See also Report of the Advisory Committee on Social and Moral Hygiene, Central Social Welfare Board, Government of India, 1956 for information on the exploitation of women in alleged social welfare institutions.

32/ See, for example, Singapore: Social Welfare, Singapore, 1948. The Third Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare. (Government Printing Office, Singapore, 1949). Latest reports for Singapore indicate that such trafficking has virtually ceased due to special measures taken by the Government.

33/ See, for example, Haikerwal, op. cit., pp. 46-48.

34/ Virginia Thompson: Thailand, The New Siam, (New York, 1941) p. 694.

35/ See, for example, T.L. Kochavara: "The Delinquent Child". Indian Journal of Social Work, Dec. 1952, vol. XIII, No.3.

A) The repercussion of the growth of urban society on the increase of crime and delinquency

Although a concentration of population cannot be considered to be, by itself, a determining factor of crime, it often contributes to other conditions which, in turn, lead to an increase in crime and delinquency. Available information, especially concerning the more highly developed countries, points to the fact that the increase in criminality, and more especially that of juvenile delinquency, outdistances sometimes by far, the corresponding increase of population. This disproportion seems to confirm the contention that the volume of crime and delinquency is more directly determined by factors other than that of the density of the population. It is also inferred that as long as those factors are not suppressed or reduced, the disproportionate growth of crime will, in all probability, continue.

Although the growth of cities, especially in less-developed countries, is currently linked to industrialization, it may be that both phenomena should be viewed somewhat separately as aspects of the total process of gross social change. Furthermore, while acknowledging that in the past some forms of rapid industrialization created conditions conducive to an increase of crime and delinquency and that more often than not highly industrialized societies are highly urbanized, it would be rather premature to conclude that industrialization is by itself a determining factor of criminality. The way in which industrialization is planned and carried out rather than the growth of industry, per se, is apparently the crux of the problem. When industrialization is carried out in such a way that the necessary social changes may proceed in a smooth and balanced manner within the framework of the existing social structure, the new conditions will not of themselves necessarily lead to an increase in crime and delinquency. Moreover "notwithstanding the many difficulties they face, under-developed countries today have one notable advantage over those that were industrialized during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: there is a vast fund of knowledge and experience to draw on and for the most part the experiments and mistakes of European countries need not be repeated".36/

/Of course,

36/ Process and Problems of Industrialization in Under-Developed Countries, United Nations Publication (Sales No. 1955.II.B.1), p.2

Of course, the rapid growth of cities in the less-developed countries is not always the result of industrialization or a consequence of economic policies and programmes. Political partitions, the arrival of a great number of refugees or displaced persons, the achievement of political independence, political unrest, tense relations with other countries, crop failure and depressed level of rural living, all contribute to rapid increases in the urban population.[37] Under such circumstances, urban patterns themselves cannot always be considered as the cause of an increase of crime, delinquency and prostitution. Rather, their increase is probably more directly related to the particular crises and events themselves. Without minimizing the fact that a rapid and unplanned growth of urban society may have disrupting effects and hence lead to an increase of crime and delinquency, it is also to be noted that in some instances rural migrants bring to the city habits and customs some of which survive the impact of the city and contribute to stable patterns of urban life. Moreover, some of the existing ties between the migrant and his rural place of origin are not only maintained but occasionally reinforced. Therefore, the current belief that the city absorbs or destroys all connections with the past of the newcomers seems to be less valid than expected. In fact, the interplay of forces seems to be determined by the strength of the different patterns of life. In turn these patterns are greatly influenced by the demographic structure of migrants : abnormal sex ratio, prevalence of certain ranges of age; low cultural level of migrants, etc. The clashes between these differing cultures constitute a basic principle in the explanation of criminal conduct.[38]

The conclusion would be that the rapid growth of urban society necessarily means, in one way or another, periods of individual and collective maladjustment.

/Those periods

37/ See Report of the Director-General of ILO, 1956, p.64.

38/ See Thorsten Selling : Culture Conflict and Crime, Report of the Sub-Committee on Delinquency, (Social Science Research Council, New York, 1938).

Those periods may be aggravated when the rapid increase of population, which also determines urban growth, occurs in impoverished regions. The combination of both elements creates situations of "mere survival" which, in all probability, are especially conducive to an increase in crime, delinquency and prostitution.

Another element to be considered as a source of increased crime and delinquency in less-developed countries is that those coming to the urban centres must comply with a system of laws and regulations which although officially the only recognized one had seldom been accepted as an intrinsic part of rural cultures. In this respect the rapid growth of some cities in African, Latin American, Middle East and Asian countries raise problems and conflicts which seldom appear in highly developed countries where the pattern of life as far as criminal law and custom are concerned is very much the same throughout the country. "The law of the dominant minority, basically foreign to local laws is imposed and there is a great deal which cannot be reconciled. The clash between different cultures and races is accompanied by a clash between rigid norms. Even in a country such as Mexico, where the colonial past is far away, and no longer exist, Professor M. Gamio was able to show that the criminal law is specifically that of the dominant minority and that the native peoples remain on the outside of the frontier of legislation which takes no account of their needs."39/

Finally, it must not be overlooked that the disruptions caused to rural areas by the migration of certain segments of its population, as well as the traffic to and from the city, may produce an atmosphere in the rural area conducive to the development of certain types of crime and delinquency.

/B) The formulation

39/ See "Problemas de desorganisacion social relacionados con la industrialisación y la urbanización en los paises de rápido desarrollo económico, by UNESCO, in International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 9, United Nations Publication (Sales No.1956.IV.I.)

B) The formulation of policies and programmes for the prevention of crime and delinquency in connection with the growth of urban society

The foregoing considerations indicate the complexity of any policy or programme directed towards the prevention of crime and delinquency in connection with the growth of urban centres. While in many cases a particular social programme such as housing can be defined by the needs it intends to satisfy, the prevention of crime and delinquency has to deal with the complexity of human behaviour, still unpredictable to a certain extent, and with a variety of factors whose impact on that behaviour remain partially unknown. That complexity has not, however, prevented the formulation of generalizations some of which have been more harmful than beneficial in the prevention of crime and delinquency.

In formulating policies and programmes for the prevention of criminality, the following considerations are important: (a) the limits of prevention are to be determined, inter alia, by the necessity of protecting human rights against the theoretical and practical excesses of some preventive programmes and policies; (b) although social programmes, if well planned and implemented, may have a salutary effect in the prevention of crime and delinquency, it would be erroneous to conclude that by themselves these programmes may eradicate crime to any significant degree; and (c) the prevention of crime can be achieved only if there is a coordination between social policies and programmes and those specifically directed toward the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders.

Viewed from a criminological point of view, the disturbing effects of a too rapid growth of urban life in less-developed countries might be counteracted to a certain extent, (a) by a planned urbanization in which the fundamental aspects of the different social system involved are taken into account; (b) by a broader social conception of community development;

/(c) by the

(c) by the creation of satellite communities and villages industries, and
(d) by new towns related to development schemes.40/

Among those mentioned above, that concerning community development seems to be the most promising. Through this development rural people would not only be better prepared to grapple with the complexities of city life when they move to it, but also the centralization and absorption that the city implies would be somewhat minimized and a better social and economic equilibrium between urban and rural areas obtained.

The too rapid growth of the city has made necessary in many cases the multiplicity of social services and it is generally accepted that in combating the deleterious influences of urbanization on the rural migrant, broad programmes of social services have a significant role to play. At the same time, it is equally to be recognized that organized social services on the pattern of some western countries for the great masses of inhabitants of urban areas are not now feasible on a large scale nor will they be for some time to come, especially in those parts of the world where social and economic change is today at its highest. Moreover, there is danger that sweeping programmes of social services may be misinterpreted and misused, with the

/result

40/ Some of the above-mentioned methods are referred to by C. Bauer, in "The Pattern of Urban and Economic Development : Social Implications", in The Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science, May 1956.

In this connexion, mention may be made of some of the factors attributed to have played a role in the control and prevention of crime and delinquency associated with the growth of urban society. In Israel, a factor credited with value in combating urban juvenile delinquency is the strong reliance on the Zionist principle of pioneer-work and rural settlement : "Youth movements of all shades of ideology, aligned with different political parties, attract a good number of young people and prepare them for pioneer tasks in rural settlements - or at least keep them, for the decisive period of adolescence, from the dangers of an empty city life". /G. Millo : "Juvenile Delinquency in Israel" in The Treatment of Offenders in the State of Israel (Israel Printing Press, Tel-Aviv, 1955) p. 12/. In Africa, it has been found that "Tribal associations may be a hindrance to the development of a sense of civic responsibility by the 'strangers' resident in the town, but they provide a means whereby people of similar interests are brought in social relationship; and more important still, through contributions, and the control they exercise over their members, they are potent factors for the maintenance of law and order within the town." /K.A. Busia : Report on a Social Survey of Sekondi-Takoradi, op. cit., p. 75/

result that parents, instead of accepting public assistance in connection with their own responsibility for bringing up children properly, will function on the premise that they have been relieved of this responsibility. This is a warning that comes from countries which have already established broad comprehensive social services programmes.41/

The problem of the relationship of urban families to broad social welfare programmes is particularly complex in those situations where the families have recently arrived from simple rural life where questions of authority and child care were not the primary responsibility of the parents but belonged to the extended family or tribe as a whole. The new conjugal family of the urban centre is under greater pressure to shift on its child-caring and child-training responsibilities to whatever agencies may be willing and able to assume them.42/

It is not enough to provide improved social conditions; families do not automatically respond to them. Social policy and programmes must be aimed directly at assisting the individual, particularly the migrant from rural areas, to understand the patterns of community relationship and individual responsibility in the urban setting which are different from those of rural society. Moreover, it is not enough to concentrate on programmes for youth under the assumption that the adults are not able to adapt to severely altered values and customs. For the youth adequately to meet the requirements of the grossly altered social scene, he must have the support and assistance of his elders.43/

/Haphazard

41/ See, for example, United Kingdom : Seventh Report on the Work of the Children's Department, (H.M.S.O., London, Nov. 1955) p. 33.

42/ "Under urban conditions it is necessary to rely more upon the parents' own initiative and discipline in family life. In the customary life, it is the community which exercises discipline, even in family life but the discussions at the social welfare conference held in the Copperbelt last year one of the problems brought out was how to persuade parents themselves to undertake the discipline of their children since they were used to relying upon the community as a whole. There is now a greater dependence on the wages of the family wage earners and, consequently, they have become a unit of their own with little in the way of kinship or community association." /J.D. Rheinallt Jones : "The effects of urbanization in South and Central Africa", African Affairs, Vol. 52, No. 206, January, 1953, pp. 37-45/.

43/ Cf. David Reifen : "Juvenile delinquency in a changing society", The Jewish Social Service Quarterly, Vol.XXXI, No.4, December 1955.

Haphazard mass migration from rural communities to urban centres presents problems which cannot be solved by even the most careful urban planning. The problem has to be dealt with at the source. Yet even a planned decrease in migration itself requires major attention since control is not possible unless major causes leading to disproportionate growth of urban populations are removed. If the surge of villages to the urban centres is to be slowed, it will be necessary, as one step, to provide to the rural communities many of the advantages and opportunities which are so highly prized that the individual leaves for the city in search of them.44/

Finally, when formulating a social policy in order to minimize the disruption caused by rapid and unplanned growth of urban society, efforts should be made to devise ways and means by which the rural migrants to cities will be able to enter into the urban setting better equipped to deal with circumstances of city life and the cities will themselves be better equipped to receive them.

44/ It is of considerable significance that at a regional meeting, sponsored by UNESCO, for leaders of youth movements, held in Tokyo in 1953, the youths themselves declared "In rural areas, it is essential to enrich a life which through its poverty of cultural resources and its monotony tends to drive young people away to the cities". (UNESCO/ED/138, 1954, p. 5).